H-BOMB FOR UNIONS: L. B. FRANTZ

THE Nation

November 28, 1953

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Red Herring —and White

The Great Crusade Picks Up

by Bruce Catton

Questions on Guiana — *Graeme C. Moodie*

Middle East Mirage — *An Editorial*

Life History of an Army — *David Donald*

A Review of Catton's "Stillness at Appomattox"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Charles C. Stei... DEC 1 1953

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Letters

The Formosa Problem . . .

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 12 Edgar Snow writes of Formosa that "obviously the United States cannot agree to a decision to present the Communists with Formosa any more than it could be party to presenting them with Hongkong or other sovereign territory." In making this statement Mr. Snow compounds confusion. Formosa is clearly not "sovereign territory." By war-time agreement Britain and the United States declared that after the war Formosa was to belong to China. . . . There was no suggestion that Formosa was to be turned over to any particular Chinese regime . . . or that Formosa was to be sovereign.

Since the war the governments of Britain, the United States, and China have all been superseded. Britain recognized the change in China. The United States has not only declined to recognize this change but has unilaterally declared that by this decision it gains the right to dispose of offshore territory which by war-time agreement belongs to China. . . . The United States cannot legally "present Formosa to anybody or withhold it from anybody. The United States government today seems increasingly to take the view that its decisions are law in respect to a number of "strategic pieces of real estate," as our journalists call them. Such a position discredits the claim of the United States to stand for law and order in international relations.

New York HELEN MEARS

. . . And Mr. Snow's Answer

Dear Sirs: I'm sorry but with all due respect to Miss Mears she is mistaken if she thinks I indorse the view that United States decisions alone are law in respect to "strategic" real estate. Where I discussed Formosa I tried to place it in a context of the politically not possible and the politically possible, that's all, in connection with China's demand for a seat in the U. N. during a period when normal diplomatic relations don't exist between us.

If anyone seriously believes it objectively possible for this country under this Administration at this time to "agree to a decision to present the Communists with Formosa" he may be right, but he has access to *Realpolitik* denied me. Of course conditions change; even Republicans change, though not very fast. Meanwhile alternatives may have to be considered before everyone sees as clearly as Miss Mears does that compromise is not permissible.

Another point of logic puzzles me. Miss Mears is sure "the United States has no rights whatever" to agree or disagree about decisions concerning Formosa today. But her reason for this certainty seems based on the bland assumption that the United States did have the right at Cairo not only to take Formosa away from Japan but to confer it on China without consulting Formosans about it. If the United States and other liberating powers have no further collective responsibility about Formosa today, how is the de jure and de facto government there now to be scuttled legally, and satisfactorily to Miss Mears, so as to turn the island over to the Reds by any means short of heavy civil war, likely to hurt quite a few Formosan bystanders?

Palisades, N.Y. EDGAR SNOW

Atlantic Patrol

Dear Sirs: In the editorial paragraph entitled Generous Uncle Sam, in your issue of November 7, you imply that the United States is withdrawing entirely from the International Civil Aviation Organization. This is not quite accurate. This country is withdrawing from the Atlantic patrol maintained by the I. C. A. O. but will presumably continue to support its other functions, such as maintenance of standards for airworthiness, the standardization of air mail charges, and so on. But the principal point you made remains valid: in withdrawing from I. C. A. O.'s Atlantic patrol, this country has abruptly put an end to a useful and symbolically heartening example of international cooperation.

Boston, Mass. JAMES H. STANTON

Dylan Thomas Fund

Dear Sirs: The sudden death of the great poet Dylan Thomas at the age of thirty-nine is an incalculable loss to literature. But there is also a personal tragedy—he leaves a widow without means of support and three children—which gravely concerns his friends and admirers. As spokesman for a committee of his friends we are making this urgent appeal to you for a contribution to the Dylan Thomas Fund, which will be used to meet his medical bills and funeral expenses and, if the response is as generous as we hope it will be, to tide his family over the next difficult months.

Please send your check to the Dylan Thomas Fund, care of Philip Wittenberg, treasurer, 70 West Fortieth Street, New York. An accounting of disbursements from the fund will be sent to the contributors at a later date.

W. H. AUDEN MARIANNE MOORE
E. E. CUMMINGS WALLACE STEVENS
ARTHUR MILLER TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
THORNTON WILDER

For the Dylan Thomas Fund Committee
New York

He Was Warned

Dear Sirs: On September 30, 1948, I met with Attorney General Tom Clark in the Department of Justice building in Washington. The conference gave me an opportunity to protest my "loyalty" discharge as a clerk in the Newark Veterans Administration solely because of my Socialist views and affiliations. It also gave me a chance to tell the Attorney General how he was flouting democratic tradition by his unfair method of placing organizations on his "subversive" list without granting them a hearing.

Trying to show him that a dangerous precedent was set when individuals and groups could be stigmatized as "disloyal" on the mere say-so of one man, I said: "Suppose that you are not in this office as Attorney General next year, Mr. Clark? What guaranty has anyone that your successor will have the same ideas that you have about who is subversive and who is not subversive?"

Mr. Clark was irritated at the question. "I'll have you know," he replied, "that the Loyalty Board includes a number of Republicans as well as Democrats." The implication was that a Republican Attorney General would share his undefined criteria for "disloyalty."

How wrong he was, how dismally wrong. Even he must realize this today, when his own loyalty and that of his ex-chief, Mr. Truman, have been publicly impugned by the first Republican who succeeded him at the Department of Justice. A lot of other eyes are being opened by Mr. Brownell's big smear, and that is a good thing. No one is safe so long as anyone is deprived of his civil liberties. JAMES KUTCHER

Newark, N.J.

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Bermuda Looks East

After a period of doubt as to what the coming conference at Bermuda could find to discuss or hope to accomplish, an interesting idea has come out of London —where the idea of the conference also originated. Instead of centering on the diplomatic stalemate with Russia and its European consequences, the British will suggest, according to Drew Middleton in the New York *Times,* that the Western Big Three turn their chief attention to Asia. The theory behind this is that Soviet power is at least static in Europe, while Asia offers the prospect of immense further Communist expansion and calls for a coordination of Western policy.

This shift of emphasis would unquestionably inject a shot of adrenalin into the talks of the Western leaders. It would permit a new and more realistic approach to the unresolved conflicts in Korea, Indo-China, and Malaya. It would enable the Western leaders to face the implications of their differences on such long-range issues as recognition of Communist China, relations with India, Far Eastern trade, and the best ways of forging links with and strengthening the free countries of Asia.

Quite aside from these necessities, a frank discussion of Asian problems would bring to the surface submerged rivalries and the intense if unspoken resentment of our Western allies at Washington's new dominant role in an area where Britain and France have far more experience—if less power—than the Pentagon and State Department combined. Mr. Middleton suggests that in Paris and London there is "some doubt as to who really directs United States policy in these areas: Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland." These worries and questions may not be put to rest in Bermuda, but it is something if they are openly raised.

The Line Is Fuzzy

The Butler bill (see page 442) is only one of a number of related dangers that now confront the American labor movement. Since the outbreak of the Korean war the trend in arbitration awards and in decisions of the N. L. R. B. has been to back the employer if he decides to fire an employee who is a "red" or who has been charged with being one. Dismissals of this kind have been sustained despite union-shop agreements. An arbitrator upheld the Los Angeles *Daily News* when it fired two members of the Newspaper Guild who had refused to answer questions before a Congressional committee, and in 1951 the N. L. R. B. refused to review the case of an employee dismissed because he had signed the Stockholm peace petition. President Eisenhower's recent executive order making it a dischargeable offense for a federal employee to refuse to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination will now of course be cited as a formal declaration of public policy on the subject.

Despite these precedents many employers are still cautious about making so-called "subversive discharges." But according to *Business Week* (October 24) they may now safely disregard their fears. Not only does the average employee lack the resources to finance a lawsuit, but the present climate of opinion almost insures an adverse deci-

More About Our Book Club

The first two titles to be offered by *The Nation's* Choice, a unique new book club for *Nation* subscribers only, will be announced in the issue of December 12—our second annual sixty-four page Civil Liberties issue. Originally scheduled for November 28, we postponed inauguration of the book club to make it coincide with the Civil Liberties number, which this year, as it did last, will make magazine history.

Last week *Publisher's Weekly* told the trade about the new book club, emphasizing that selections will be devoted to "the kind of books that liberals will want to read and own—the kind which today are often lost in the avalanche of book production and often ignored by conformist critics." This of course is the stated objective of *The Nation's* Choice.

The club will make possible savings up to 40 per cent a book and will offer bonuses in addition. Membership will be automatic for all *Nation* subscribers, yet not a single book will be sent to any subscriber unless he specifically asks for it. Letters from our readers indicate that the project is going to get an enthusiastic reception. We are certain that *The Nation's* Choice for December will interest you.

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 437
Middle East Mirage 439

ARTICLES

Next President of France
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 441

H-Bomb for Unions: The Butler Bill
by Laurent B. Frantz 442

Red Herring—and White:
The Great Crusade Picks Up
by Bruce Catton 445

Questions on Guiana:
Dr. Jagan in Britain
by Graeme C. Moodie 447

BOOKS

Life History of an Army
by David Donald 450

New York in Pictures: 1614-1953
by Evans Clark 452

New Books in Brief 452

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 454

ART *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 454

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 455

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 543
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 456

LETTERS opposite 437

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sion. In addition, it is always easy for an employer to find "legitimate" reasons for discharging heretics. "Since the line is fuzzy," comments *Business Week* on the whole business of subversion, "it would be hard to upset the judgment of the board, either way."

In the meantime the N. L. R. B., acting as though the Butler bill were already the law of the land, has refused to hold bargaining elections for the independent Marine Cooks and Stewards, whose president, Hugh Bryson, has been indicted, but not yet tried for, falsely swearing that he is not a Communist.

"The Saar Is German"

One of the obvious purposes of the Bermuda conference is to exert pressure on France to commit itself to German rearmament and the E. D. C. before the NATO meeting on December 14. Last week's debate in the French National Assembly showed the effect of this pressure—a deepening split not only in the government but in the foreign office and in the army. It must be remembered that M. Laniel's success in finally constructing a Cabinet after five weeks of crisis was due primarily to an agreement to postpone decisions on basic foreign policy. Among other things, the agreement called for the fulfilment of Foreign Minister Bidault's pledge to the parties that neither the Bonn peace contract nor the European treaty would be ratified until the Saar problem had been settled.

But the Bonn government's apparently well-grounded conviction that it can get anything it wants out of Washington has led to a situation precisely opposite to what Bidault had hoped for when he made the pledge. West Germany's attitude towards the Saar is stiffening instead of softening. It is true that Adenauer never ceases to protest that the improvement of Franco-German relations remains the achievement with which he would like to crown his long career. But in fact the Bonn government, seizing upon the renewal of the Franco-Saar convention as a leit-motif, is hammering home the thesis that the Saar is and must always remain German. This alone is enough to weaken the force of Bidault's appeal to the French Assembly to accept E. D. C. and to prevent a clear-cut commitment at Bermuda.

Cincinnati's "White Case"

A miniature White case developed recently in Cincinnati which has some extraordinary implications, most of them sinister. Several years ago a man named Sydney Williams applied there for the post of City Planning Director. He was interviewed by Henry A. Bettman, chairman of the municipal planning board, and Wallace R. Collett, a board member, both of whom belong to the City Charter Committee, a reform party. Williams admitted to his interviewers that in 1946 he had joined a

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Marxist housing and planning "study group" in San Francisco, but said that he had dropped his connection after a few months. Bettman and Collett, feeling that Williams's excellent technical qualifications overweighed his brief association with "reds," gave him the job.

So the matter rested until the closing weeks of this year's municipal election, in which the Charterites and the Republicans were the chief opponents. It is clear that as of September 28, at least, City Manager W. R. Kellogg, a Republican, was in possession of a two-paragraph F.B.I. report which stated that on the basis of "information received" (though apparently not checked) Williams had at one time or another been a member of the Communist Party and that his wife probably still was. Kellogg showed this report to some of his Republican colleagues before making it public. Now the fat was in the fire. Williams resigned, the Republicans demanded the resignation of Bettman and Collett, and the Charterites were given the Brownell treatment.

Mr. Brownell, Take Note

Spokesmen for the Charter Committee put the finger on the key question: How did the F. B. I. report get into the hands of the Republican City Manager? Leon M. Sive, committee president, pointed out not irrelevantly that Gordon H. Scherer, a former member of the municipal planning board, is now a Republican member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. We don't know whether Mr. Scherer had access to the F. B. I. files. We don't know whether the F. B. I. simply volunteered the information. What we do know is that if F. B. I. reports are hereafter going to be made available to Republicans in order to throw opponents out of office, or to discredit them, then this country has become a police state and its chief executive is not the President, but J. Edgar Hoover.

So much for the sinister in the Cincinnati affair. But there is also a happy aspect. The Republican campaign of smear, vilification, and red-baiting did not work—on election day the voters returned a majority of Charterites to the City Council and Messrs. Bettman and Collett still have their jobs. Mr. Brownell and the Republican National Committee, please note.

Let the Punishment Fit the Crime

News item in Lien Ho Joh Pao, *Chinese-language newspaper published in New York City:*

Formosa, November 6 (Associated Press)—The Formosa *Tu Li Wan Pao (Independent Evening News)* was ordered suspended for three months on October 18 for saying something that offended Chiang Kai-shek. On October 10, reporting on a meeting in celebration of the national holiday, the newspaper declared that Chiang Kai-shek "was mixed up with a pile of people on the reviewing stand." A petty official of the Kuomintang said that the two characters "mixed up" bore "a signification insulting to the President." The suspension followed despite the fact that Li Yu-ch'ien, publisher of the paper, who is reported to have been a member of the Kuomintang since 1919, printed an item of regret and promised not to make the slightest mistake in the future.

The Formosa *Kung Lun Pao (Public Opinion Daily)* commented editorially on October 30 that while the *Tu Li Wan Pao* had been careless in its use of words, the punishment was undoubtedly too heavy, and requested the authorities to be generous and drop the matter.

Middle East Mirage

A NEW trinity—oil, bases, and trade—is being enshrined as the presiding deity of the United Nations in the Middle East. Tossed into limbo are the interests of peoples, peace, and development, which, on paper at least, are still the foundation stones of the U. N. Charter.

Three times in the course of the past month the Big Three was offered an extraordinary opportunity to make marked progress on three fronts—peace in the Middle East, solution of the Arab refugee problem, winning the friendship of the Arab people. Instead, they chose retreat and double-cross. For what? A mirage called "security," rising from the hope of a Middle Eastern pact with the West. Pursuit of that mirage is responsible for the cynical and sterile discussions at the U. N. on Kibya, Arab refugees, and the Syrian complaint, as well as for decisions alienating both the Arab nations and Israel.

Let's take a look at Kibya. Surely the "mourners" over Kibya, if they had in mind the interests of the Arab people, could have planned a more fitting memorial than the resolution presented to the Security Council by the Big Three. For what is this resolution other than an incitement to new violence, and therefore to new loss of life?

Important to the interests of the Arab peoples is not censure of Israel but a decision that could prevent violence on either side. The joker in the resolution is that the Israeli action which its sponsors call "retaliatory" is described as "a violation of the cease-fire provisions of the Security Council resolution of July, 1948" and "inconsistent with the Armistice agreements in the Charter." But the acts which produced the retaliation—namely, the infiltration from Jordan into Israel and attacks on Israelis—are characterized as breaches neither of the peace nor of the Armistice agreements nor of the Charter. As long as the Council fails to consider them as violations, so long will the Arab governments feel encouraged to continue them along all four Israel frontiers. Thus violence grows instead of diminishes.

Did the Big Three have any other choice? Obviously. They could have argued that all the Security Council

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needed to do was to invoke the preamble and Articles 1 and 12 of the Israel-Jordan Armistice agreement. These articles make discussion of a settlement mandatory. And what moment was more opportune than a crisis created by violence?

Let's take a look at the Syrian complaint concerning Israel's construction of a canal for power purposes. After more than a month of discussion, it is likely to be referred back for decision to the truce-supervision organization. Clearly, Syria has no territorial rights in the area and the complaint, which caused the United States to hold up temporarily economic aid to Israel, should have been thrown out by the Truce Commission when initially lodged.

What did Syria hope to gain? Harassment of Israel, the stoppage of the work on the canal, leverage to satisfy other national interests. But if the Security Council should continue to lend itself to Syria's harassing tactics, Israel has an alternative possibility which would preclude both U. N. and Syrian intervention. The Israel canal could be constructed in such a way as to by-pass the demilitarized zone entirely and involve only land and water under exclusive Israel sovereignty. The enterprise would be much more costly and, from an engineering standpoint, more difficult, but there is little that Syria or anybody else could do to stop it.

The action of Syria is understandable. The collaboration of the Big Three in it is reprehensible.

AND FINALLY there is the Arab refugee problem.

After five years there are still 872,000 Arabs on the relief rolls of the United Nations. In its report to the General Assembly the United Nations Works and Relief Administration admitted that very little progress had been made and that practically the whole of its $200,000,000 integration fund was unexpended because the refugees resisted all programs that were not temporary. U. N. W. R. A. pointed out that resistance to permanent settlement was both political and economic and asked for the assistance of the member governments of the U. N. in bringing about a change. It cited the need simultaneously to raise the standard of living of indigenous populations by helping the Arab governments develop their ample natural resources for this purpose.

What did the U. N. do under Big Three stimulus? It decided to allow the present relief operations to continue for another year and to let U. N. W. R. A. continue to wrestle with the problem, even though the organization had stated clearly that the political-economic factors were outside its milieu.

But much more important than that: American leadership fortified Arab intransigence by suddenly injecting the idea that Israel should consider the repatriation of Arab refugees. This despite the fact that three years ago the U. N., with United States support, recognized that repatriation was impossible and that the only solution was resettlement in Arab countries. To continue to delude the Arab refugees that repatriation is possible is criminal cynicism, whether projected by the Arab governments or by the State Department.

What is the purpose of all this maneuvering? Obviously, the proffer of Israel as a sacrificial lamb is intended to gain the good-will of the Arab states. By this time one has become inured to the banishment of morality. But what of reality? What do the Big Three gain? When Mr. Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, bluntly told the United States that if it were interested in petroleum, bases, other material resources, and trade with the Arab states, it had better stop being friendly to Israel, he was only using the constant blackmail tactic of the Arab world. But Mr. Hassouna and his associates do not hold all the winning cards. Let's take a look at the oil situation. Last year four Arab countries drew oil royalties of $440,000,000. This year the royalties will be considerably increased, with every outlook favorable for further increases. The royalties account for the largest part of the budgets of the countries involved. But this huge income depends in large measure on the continued availability of Western technicians as well as Western markets. The lesson of Iran has not been lost on Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

So the Western world has leverage to apply in peace time if it so chooses. And in war? Either the oil-rich countries will be overrun or their defense will be undertaken by the Western world. There is not a single Arab country capable of defending itself against a putative Russian invasion. In a moment of acute crisis the Arab governments will choose the course they think most advantageous. Can they deliver their people to either side? Hardly likely. Throughout the Arab world there is ferment against poverty, coupled with opposition to the presence of any foreign power. In the event of world war, this ferment could lead to civil war. The present ruling caste would be the first to go.

AS LONG as the Big Three deal with the Middle East situation solely in terms of bases and of winning support from governments which, with perhaps the exception of Egypt, have shown little initiative in improving the lot of their people, they are alienating rather than winning the friendship of the Arab peoples.

What the Arab peoples need are peace and assistance in improving their standards of living. Yet every action taken by the U. N. on the Palestine question in the current debates has been in the opposite direction.

The Big Three can of course greatly retard the development of Israel, the only certain friend of democracy in the Middle East. The irony is that in pursuing their present course, they are endangering their own "security."

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Next President of France

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

THE presidential election, now only two weeks away, dominates the whole French political scene. Among the candidates most talked of are Joseph Laniel, the present Premier; Henri Queuille, the expert politician and former Premier whose name crops up every time France is without a Cabinet for more than a month; and finally Edouard Herriot. There are also many others in the race: René Pleven, the present Minister of National Defense, whom the Communists tag "America's man" because his views on Indo-China and the European army coincide with those of Washington and also because of his long-standing associations with American big business; Georges Bidault, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs; Yvon Delbos, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Education, as well as less important leaders of various political groups. Former Premier Antoine Pinay, whose chances would have been pretty good, has announced that he will not stand and will refuse the presidency, if elected.

Of these men, Laniel seems at present to have the best chance. Pleven has just suffered two setbacks. The National Assembly has defeated a measure to lift the parliamentary immunity of a number of Communist deputies, which he had demanded with great insistence. The most remarkable thing about the anti-Pleven majority was that it comprised not only Communists and Socialists but also fifty-three members of the Catholic M. R. P., thirteen Radical Socialists, and fourteen independents. His other defeat was administered by his own party. At its recent congress a majority disagreed with M. Pleven on Indo-China and pronounced itself in favor of negotiations with Ho Chi-minh, a policy he opposes. In consequence M. Pleven resigned from the party chairmanship.

A NEW preelection trend is the growing movement in favor of the candidacy of Edouard Herriot, president of the National Assembly and chairman of the Radical Socialist Party. He is eighty-two and rheumatism has forced him many times to enter the Chamber with the assistance of two ushers. But once seated in the presidential chair he shows himself as witty and effective as he was thirty years ago. His biggest chance is related to the stand he has taken against German rearmament. At last year's Radical Party congress at Bordeaux his position created a sensation. At this year's congress he was more cautious. But a statement by him read at a recent meeting at the Mutualité, where members of various political groups ranging from the Gaullists to the Socialists condemned the European army, was clear and energetic. He said: "I regret that the proposed treaty has not been examined line by line, as it should have been, and I am convinced that many of those who defend it have not examined it because they are aiming at a peace that can only be a half-peace. Never in her entire history has France had to take a decision as important as the decision to ratify or not ratify the European-army treaty. The problem thus presented requires the most careful study, for once the decision is made, it cannot be unmade. It is the destiny of France that is at stake."

There are those who think that the choice lies between Herriot and Auriol. True, Vincent Auriol wishes to leave the Elysée Palace, but in France this does not imply a desire to quit active politics. If no candidate receives the required majority in December, Ariol may be requested to remain at the helm for another seven years, in view of France's critical position.

BUT THE OTHER candidates named have not given up hope. This is why they are none too pleased about the coming Bermuda conference, which may put at least two of them, Laniel and Bidault, into a less favorable position. The columnist Pertinax, as well informed as ever, writes in *Paris Soir*: "To all appearances, the place and date of the coming meeting of the three Western chiefs of state and their Foreign Ministers have been selected by Sir Winston Churchill and President Eisenhower, and MM. Laniel and Bidault were not given an opportunity to present their objections, if any, or to suggest alternatives." From this Pertinax concludes that the only European politician to feel happy about Bermuda is Chancellor Adenauer, "who sees that France has finally been sent to the back of the line as far as the European army is concerned. She is still maneuvering; but the German Federal Republic will pretty soon be allowed to rearm, within the framework of NATO or some other way."

The position of the French political parties with regard to the presidential elections is further complicated because both General de Gaulle and Edouard Daladier have outlined an "alternative foreign policy"—an alternative, that is, to the ratification of the European army—which represents nothing more and nothing less than a return to the traditional French policy of friendship with Russia in the face of the German peril. "France has always been Russia's ally," De Gaulle declared at a press conference, referring to the Franco-Soviet treaty signed after the war and still valid. "Do you think," asked Daladier at the above-mentioned Mutualité meeting, "that a nation of 200,000,000, conscious of its very real power, can be asked to quit the countries which it occupies and to which it was led by the Americans and the English?"

This agreement on foreign policy between groups antagonistic on domestic issues might obtain for a presidential candidate like Herriot—or for that matter for any other opponent of the European army—the votes of Communist, Gaullist, and Daladier-Radical senators and deputies. And these votes represent a respectable force.

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H-BOMB FOR UNIONS

The Butler Bill . . *by Laurent B. Frantz*

AGITATION to have the government chase the "reds" out of the unions with a big stick has come to a head this month with a Senate "task force" opening public hearings on the Butler bill, S. 1606, a legislative H-bomb designed for use on the home front. The bill provides that any union charged with being "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by Communists, ex-Communists, or persons who once worked with Communists shall be summarily stripped of its bargaining rights and then placed on trial before the Subversive Activities Control Board to determine whether those rights should be restored.

Its author, Republican Senator John Marshall Butler of Maryland, whose campaign for office was substantially controlled by Senator Joseph McCarthy, is a hunter not only of Communists but of "crypto-socialists." These interesting game birds may be readily identified, Senator Butler has declared,

> . . . by certain basic assumptions which they fervidly profess and which have their origin in socialism. Among these assumptions are: government is good and to be expanded, business is evil and to be regimented; labor unions are good (with the C. I. O. better than the A. F. of L.), employers are wicked; the federal government, at least since 1932, is progressive, and should increasingly supplant the states, which are regarded as reactionary and obsolete; public ownership is better than private enterprise, which is looked upon as selfish and corrupt; wages are good, profits are sinful; public welfare measures should replace private charity; the executive branch of the federal government, and in particular the regulatory agencies thereof, should be given more power and wider discretion, the Congress and the courts should be subordinated and curtailed.

Persons who display these alarming ideological symptoms are, in the Senator's view:

Exc

Senator John Marshall Butler

> . . . disloyal in the sense that they, whether from good or bad motives, seek to subvert the American system of limited government, free enterprise, and democratic society and replace it with a system hostile and alien to our traditions as a nation. Because the socialist "liberals" operate under the camouflage of respectability, they may fairly be deemed a danger to the national interest, independent of the effective cover they provide for the Communist infiltration.

The chairman of the committee holding hearings on Mr. Butler's prescription for securing the loyalty of the labor movement is Butler himself. His fellow-Republican is Herman Welker of Idaho, another freshman Senator for whom McCarthy campaigned and who has in turn supported Jumping Joe in the Senate. The Democrat who completes the team is none other than Pat McCarran, author of numerous measures for the whittling away of civil liberties, including the Internal Security Act of 1950, which the Butler bill seeks to expand. This "task force" is a unit of Senator Jenner's Internal Security Subcommittee, which recently reported that the whole New Deal was nothing but a Communist plot. With the preliminaries in such eager hands, it may be assumed that a floor fight in Congress over the Butler bill, or something essentially similar, is on the schedule for 1954.

WHAT TEST is proposed for identifying Communist domination in unions?

> *"Whenever it is charged that any 'labor organization' . . . is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by any individual or individuals (whether officers of such labor organization or not). . ."*

Let it be noted at the outset that the persons whose influence is relied on to show "Communist domination" need not have any defined or objectively verifiable authority. Their control need not be complete, only "substantial." Thus the decision may rest on a mere hunch as to how much some persons have been influenced by others. In any such speculative and intuitive judgment, the controlling factor is likely to be the prejudices of the fact-finders—in this case the members of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

By the use of this language, moreover, unions are virtually required to judge all proposals put before them, not on their merits, but on their sponsorship. Acceptance of any proposal which turned out to be of Communist origin—even though the union was unaware of this fact and even though the proposal was quite unobjectionable on its own merits—might lay the union open to a charge of being "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by a Communist minority within the organization.

> *". . . who are or ever have been a member or members. . . ."*

There may be as many as several hundred thousand ex-Communists around. Most of them are not known as such to their associates. Probably a considerable number are active in unions, even in very conservative unions. Yet the Subversive Activities Control Board could deprive a whole organization of bargaining rights because one such person was found in a position of influence. It

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LAURENT B. FRANTZ was co-author with Norman Redlich of the widely read article Does Silence Mean Guilt? in The Nation *of June 6.*

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would not need to be shown that this person was still pro-Communist; the action could be taken if he had indisputably long been bitterly anti-Communist. Perhaps the board would not want to take action against a union in such circumstances, but it would have to do so to enforce the act as written.

" . . . of the Communist Party or of any Communist-action organization, or Communist-front organization. . ."

Organizations characterized as "Communist fronts" are almost by definition built around some program or objective which many non-Communists consider desirable. The aim may be defense of civil liberties, opposition to war, opposition to racial discrimination, protection for aliens or for refugees from fascism, and so on through causes without number. To be at all effective, the "front" must contain a substantial number of non-Communists. Some of these may know they are working with Communists but believe that all who have a common purpose should work together for it, irrespective of their differences on other questions. Others may have refused to believe, if they ever heard it, that their associates were Communists. In a calm and rational atmosphere neither position could possibly be regarded, by its most determined opponent, as more than a political indiscretion. Yet under the Butler bill anyone who has ever worked with Communists in an organization for any purpose, whether he knew it or not, is forever barred from union leadership.

". . . or who have consistently aided, supported, or in any manner contributed to or furthered the activities of such organizations. . ."

Thus for the unions the dictum, if the Communists are for it you have to be against it, would become law. This requirement, which the McCarran act has already laid down for the guidance of organizations in general, obviously throws the door wide open to political and ideological censorship. What may not be immediately obvious is that unions are in a peculiar position which makes its effect on them even more drastic.

In 1948 the C. I. O. expelled a number of unions alleged to be Communist-dominated. In December, 1951, the United States Chamber of Commerce declared: "In spite of a partial housecleaning, the C. I. O. has never rid itself of its Marxist economics. Virtually every important speech and publication . . . is replete with class consciousness, hatred for employers, and is designed to intensify the class struggle—things foreign to most Americans." And in February, 1953, the *American Machinist,* summarizing the results of a survey made for the Timken Roller Bearing Company, said: ". . . the report does show a surprising coincidence of attitudes between C. I. O. official publications and Communist papers. Where attitude toward free enterprise is involved, C. I. O. follows the Communist Party line with the persistence of a shadow." It would not be particularly difficult to analyze A. F. of L. statements and reach similar conclusions. For example, the preamble to the A. F. of L. constitution states: "A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

SUCH COMPARISONS are possible—and always will be possible—for a quite simple reason. Communists believe that the form of society they seek can be achieved by a working-class victory. Consequently, whatever else the Communist line may be, it is generally strongly pro-labor. And however anti-Communist a union may be, many of its objectives will receive Communist support. The requirement of total non-concurrence in the Communist "line" is one which unions simply cannot meet without ceasing to be unions.

Thus the real effect of this condition is to put all unions at the mercy of the Subversive Activities Control Board. No union could exist unless the board's subjective judgment on its political tendencies and reliability were favorable.

Its efforts to improve the economic status of its members, which are the union's reason for existence, can be regarded as an argument against it. The Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations felt impelled to warn:

> No union-management relationship is free of grievances of one sort or another. It is difficult to detect the precise motivation which edges a grievance into a strike or slow-down. The Communist union leaders do not usually proclaim in advance that the motivating factor in a strike or slow-down is political. It is even not unlikely that most Communist-led strikes are legitimate strikes arising out of genuine trade-union grievances. There may be just a hairline of judgment separating the attitude of the patriotic, militant trade-union leader and the Communist party-line follower. One feels that the grievance is not weighty enough to justify a strike; the other, concerned with implementing the foreign policy of a foreign country, does move for strike action.

The last statement is an imaginary bugaboo, since moving for strike action is not enough: a strike must be voted by a majority of the membership. The significant thing is the nature of the objective data which will distinguish the two hypothetical trade unionists described by the committee. The first one does not prove his quality just by making patriotic speeches. He clears himself only by deciding that the grievance was not sufficiently weighty. A cablegram from Malenkov is not discovered in the other's briefcase. His "concern with implementing the foreign policy of a foreign country" will be inferred from the fact that he did move for strike action.

The committee recognizes that the "patriotic, militant trade-union leader" and the "Communist party-line follower" have frequently both voted to strike. In this situation the Control Board will have to sort out its subversives on the basis of its own best guess as to their secret motivation. Since all strikes affect production and almost all production affects in some degree the nation's potential military strength—and since all strikes also necessarily involve something for which the workers are willing to strike—the board will be perfectly free to characterize any strike as either "legitimate" or "political" and thereby to obtain whichever result it desires.

In speaking of "crypto-socialists" Senator Butler explained that "in the field of labor, which next to foreign affairs is the most sensitive and fertile field for Socialist infiltration, collectivist attitudes . . . manifest themselves primarily in a pro-union, anti-management bias." In short, in the view of the author of the Butler bill, a union may be considered subversive if it is pro-labor. This proposition, which the National Association

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of Manufacturers has long been bending its efforts to establish, is embodied in the bill in a slightly disguised form.

SOME OF the procedural features of the bill are equally important. Charges on which the union is deprived of bargaining rights can be brought by anyone —an employer, a rival union, a disaffected group in the union which wants to retry before the board issues already argued before the membership and lost. Rival unions are actually solicited, perhaps bribed, to bring such charges. By doing so they can obtain a National Labor Relations Board election without first signing up 30 per cent of the bargaining unit as the law would normally require. In such an election the accused union would be refused a place on the ballot because, although not yet found guilty, it is already "ineligible . . . to become, or to continue to be, the recipient of any procedural or substantive benefit under or by virtue of the Labor Management Relations Act."

The accused union loses it bargaining rights, not when final judgment is reached, but when the complaint is first issued. The bill says:

> Simultaneous with the service of such complaint and notice of hearing on such labor organization, the Subversive Activities Control Board shall cause to be served on the National Labor Relations Board . . . an intermediate suspension order providing that such labor organization shall be ineligible to act as exclusive bargaining agent.

Thus even a union which is ultimately vindicated will have been prevented from functioning for several months or perhaps years. Of course this reverses the presumption of innocence, one of the fundamental principles of our law. The practical consequence will be that the unions must trim their sails not to avoid the possibility of an adverse decision but to avoid the possibility of being accused. They will have to cater continually to employers, to rival unions, to dissident elements in their ranks, to non-union workers, to government officials, to labor commentators and gossip columnists, and to professional red-hunters, super-patriots, and inquisitorial Congressmen. The resulting labor movement, if one remains, should be docile enough to satisfy its worst enemy.

To issue the intermediate-suspension order which puts the union out of business in advance of its trial, the board need only have "reason to believe that allegations therein contained are meritorious." If a Court of Appeals later holds that the conclusion was erroneous or illegal, the suspension order shall nevertheless "retain its full force and effect" pending Supreme Court review. This amazing provision goes far to show that the possibility of ruining a union which may ultimately be vindicated is in the bill by design and not by accident. As now written, the bill authorizes the government to appeal to the Supreme Court if it loses in the Court of Appeals but denies the union that right.

IT WOULD BE nice to think that the bill was sponsored by a lunatic fringe and had no prospect of enactment. Unfortunately, the indications, at least so far as the general outlines of the scheme are concerned, are to the contrary. Its main features may even have Administration support, although the signs here are not conclusive. In his recommendations for Taft-Hartley revision, later withdrawn, President Eisenhower, as reported in the New York *Times*, suggested that the non-Communist affidavits "be eliminated and the problem of Communist influence in unions would be dealt with in general legislation." Attorney General Brownell, in a copyrighted interview in *U. S. News and World Report*, said that Communists were "a greater menace now than at any time" and that he supposed "there are more in labor unions than anywhere else." The Department of Justice, he added, would cooperate closely in a forthcoming Congressional study of the problem. The President's statement may, as his Attorney General's clearly does, refer to the efforts of the Butler-Welker-McCarran "task force."

Some of the provisions of the Butler bill are so nakedly outrageous that it is hard to see how even a hunter of "crypto-socialists" could put them forward with serious intent. Possibly some of the details may be primarily bargaining points to be surrendered in the process of making a smashing defeat for labor look like a compromise.

Not only the methods but also the purported legislative aim of measures like the Butler bill deserve more critical analysis than they are likely to get in these times. The notion that Communists

Phil Drew in the *Dispatcher*

Union-busting by Witch-hunting

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in union leadership offer some kind of immediate threat to "security" is pure speculation. In reality the unions most frequently charged with Communist domination are under heavy fire from employers, government, and rival organizations. Their survival can only be explained by the fact that the leadership has won and retained the confidence of an overwhelmingly non-Communist membership. Since raiding unions are constantly hovering around to pick up any element which becomes disaffected, even a momentary lapse of confidence on the part of a substantial minority would mean disaster.

Another objection to the purported legislative aim is more fundamental. A union officer, like a Congressman, is elected to represent a constituency. The only people before whom an elected representative's political tendencies and possible future breach of trust can be discussed are those to whom he must appeal for reelection. To allow any other body to pass upon such questions is to disfranchise the electorate.

The sponsors of legislation of this kind would do well to ponder the statement of William Green, late president of the A. F. of L.:

> Legislation would serve to substitute compulsion for voluntarism. Workers resent compulsion; consequently the enactment of legislation designed to prevent Communist domination of unions would have a bad psychological effect.

They might also study the words of Walter Reuther, C. I. O. president:

> The Communist issue must be settled inside the unions themselves. It is up to the union membership. There is no other way to handle the question.

Clearly, opposition should be focused on the general scheme rather than on the name or details of any particular bill. This scheme is to make unions liable to ideological trials which may deprive them of bargaining rights and to subject the employees' choice of their bargaining representative to a government-wielded political veto. It was condemned by a Senate subcommittee in these words, "This ideological testing of a union's right to survive is foreign to our traditions of a free labor movement," and by the late Alan Haywood, C. I. O. vice-president, as follows:

> This amounts, whether or not it is so labeled, to government licensing of trade unions. It means that the government determines which unions are legitimate and may continue to function, and which shall be proscribed. . . .
>
> Government licensing of unions would inevitably involve thought control, since it would turn not on acts but on beliefs and loyalties. The determination of whether a union should be proscribed would necessarily "reflect the individual political and economic views and attitudes of the government officials making the determination. Once the gate is opened to government proscribing of unions, the temptation will be present to use the device to destroy any union with whose objectives the Administration in power may happen not to agree."

Many signs—for example, the Eisenhower-Durkin break and the tough pro-business orientation given to the N. L. R. B. by recent appointments—point to another curb-the-unions build-up like that which produced the Taft-Hartley act a few years ago. The theme "this is just what we need to fight communism" is being used these days as an advertising gimmick useful for selling anything.

RED HERRING—AND WHITE

The Great Crusade Picks Up . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE feverish exploitation of the case of the late Harry Dexter White is by all odds the most significant step that the Eisenhower Administration has yet taken. The future of the Great Crusade has been baldly staked on the theory that in the emotional climate now prevailing the anti-Communist issue is the unfailing master-key to political power.

Here is an issue, it is hoped, that may resolve all the contradictions arising from the dizzy blend of public-relations build-up, the give-away program, and the ominous gap between campaign promises and administrative performance. In it healing may be found for the political pains which have begun to afflict the Administration ten months after it came triumphantly into office.

In a way this makes sense. It at least explains various things, like the continued refusal to restrain Senator McCarthy, and the sweaty embrace from Senator Jenner to which the victorious candidate submitted out in Indiana a little more than a year ago. McCarthyism cannot be disavowed, for it pays off politically; and who but Senator Jenner provided the proper stage for the televised proceedings which got the whole maneuver back on the rails?

All of which is to say that the current investigation must be assayed in the context of the existing political situation.

Barely a fortnight ago Leonard W. Hall, Republican national chairman, bluntly admitted that the party and the Administration were in serious trouble. The details of that trouble are worth examining briefly. Some extremely significant elections had gone wrong—in Wisconsin, in New Jersey, and in New York. The party was split into reactionary and mildly liberal wings. The elections had seemed to indicate that the personal popularity of the President was non-transferable. A new session of Congress was coming up, lamentably unprepared to cope with a number of hot political issues whose settlement had been postponed to the eve of a difficult Congressional election.

As recently as November 16, *Newsweek* drew attention to this situation and remarked that President Eisenhower's

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Attorney General Brownell

associates were urging him to lay down a program with genuine vote-getting appeal. Unfortunately the program was already fairly clear, and its utter lack of voter appeal was even clearer.

There was a confused farm program which at the very least seemed to be inviting a new agricultural depression.

There was a hard-money program which had provoked so many symptoms of an economic recession that the Treasury was beginning to back-pedal.

There was an attitude toward organized labor which had driven Martin Durkin out of the Cabinet and was renewing all of labor's traditional distrust of Republican leadership.

There was a hardening attitude toward public power, reclamation, and the public domain which seemed likely to prove all the accusations made by Democrats in the last campaign.

In addition, the Republicans' airy promises to balance the budget were colliding head-on with equally airy promises to reduce taxes. And there was, and still is, for that matter, every indication that the second set of promises would presently be redeemed even if that put the first set beyond all hope of fulfilment.

On top of everything else the Republicans' pet issue of corruption in high places was back-firing badly. In Governor Dewey's own bailiwick of New York a malodorous situation was winning some highly unpleasant headlines.

It was against this background that Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., took his script in hand and told a Chicago luncheon-club audience that when the Truman Administration put White on the International Monetary Fund it did so in the full knowledge that the man was a traitor.

Extravagant charges of evildoing have been made before by the Republicans. After all, General Eisenhower got the Presidential nomination very largely as the result of loud charges that the Taft people had "stolen" various delegates in Texas—charges in whose formulation Mr. Brownell himself was generally believed to have had a prominent hand. There was also Senator Jenner, now serving as master of ceremonies in the White production, who had asserted that General George C. Marshall was no better than a front man for traitors.

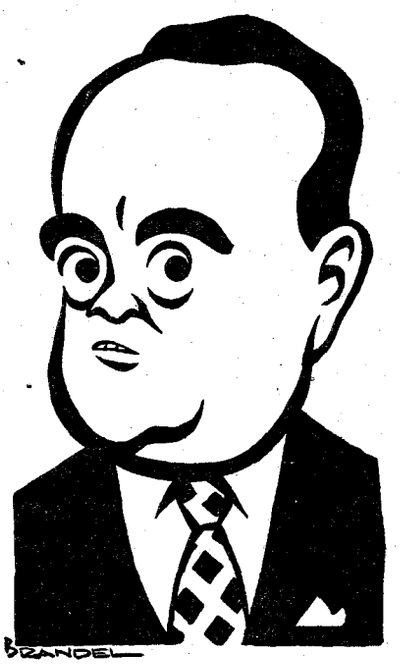
Mr. Brownell's speech brought swift reactions. The first came from National Chairman Hall, who stopped wailing low and jubilantly proclaimed that "communism in government" would be a principal issue in the 1954 Congressional election campaign. The second came from Mr. Truman himself, who got radio and television time to reply.

TRUMAN'S SPEECH was a good job. But his press section, in advance of the speech, committed a tactical blunder of the first magnitude by spreading the word that J. Edgar Hoover himself, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had at least tacitly approved the business of naming White to a new job so that he could be watched. This gave the Republicans full opportunity to retrieve the error which Mr. Brownell had committed, and they made the most of it.

On the day before the hearing the staunchly Republican New York *Herald Tribune* asserted that Hoover was refusing to accept any responsibility for Truman's action in the White case. The F. B. I. chief, it predicted, was "likely to become a highly damaging witness as far as Mr. Truman is concerned and a very favorable witness for Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr." That was a very sage prediction. When the mikes and the lights were turned on, what was at issue was not the extravagance of Mr. Brownell's language but the ineffable sanctity of Mr. Hoover's reputation.

The head of the F. B. I. is Washington's one, original untouchable. No one will criticize him, no one will question him—least of all, a Senator in front of the television apparatus. He took the stand amid fervent applause, with Chairman Jenner of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee presenting him as "the custodian of the nation's security." The Senators accepted his assertion that the F. B. I. does not draw conclusions or express opinions and sat in awed silence while he drew extensive conclusions and expressed the most forthright opinions. When he had finished, the question was no longer whether Mr. Brownell had wrongly accused Mr. Truman of something; it was whether Mr. Truman had wrongly accused Mr. Hoover. The Great Crusade is back in business again.

Several morals can probably be drawn from all this. One of them is that from the standpoint of practical politics the Jenner embrace has certainly paid off. It may have been hard to take at the time, but its fruits are delectable. For it was Jenner who came to the Administration's rescue when the erratic Representative Velde, rushing to get into the act, seemed to be placing a martyr's crown on Mr. Truman's brow. Jenner even got a little ammunition for his own use. When Mr. Brownell, discussing various spies who seemed to be enmeshed in the White case, mentioned that one Harold Glasser had even served as an adviser to the Secretary of State during a 1947 meeting of the Big Four foreign



J. Edgar Hoover

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ministers, Senator Jenner quietly asked: "Who was that Secretary of State?" "Mr. Marshall," replied Mr. Brownell.

Another moral may have to do with the exact nature of whatever it is that the Administration is up to in this maneuver. At his press conference the day after the Hoover hearing President Eisenhower was asked whether his Administration had now embraced McCarthyism. With some asperity he replied that he would leave that to the press corps itself. The New York *Times* representative, accepting the challenge, managed to poll about half the correspondents immediately after the conference. The majority of those polled did indeed believe that the Administration, though perhaps not the President himself, was guilty as charged.

Not since Grant's time, when Republican politicians answered all complaints about maladministration with the assertion that unreconstructed Southerners were persecuting the colored man, has there been a tactic quite like this one. The one important question, of course, will not be answered for months to come —namely, will it work?

The Administration's political program is still what it was. The problems which the next session of Congress will have to handle, just before the members ask the voters for approval, are fully as tough as they were two weeks ago. Farmers are still unhappy; budget-balancing is still out of sight; the Korean settlement is still delayed; labor is still disturbed; and the ominous indications of a possible industrial recession are still visible. Public power, reclamation, soil conservation, and the retention or loss of the public domain are still matters with highly explosive potentialities.

Can the effect of all these be offset by a simple return to the tactic of the 1870's known in those days as Waving the Bloody Shirt? It would take a rash man to say flatly that it cannot. The Jenner committee is rolling, and it has the material to keep going for a long time. Mr. Brownell dumped approximately a dozen names on the table—names of alleged spies operating in the federal government during the immediate post-war years. The committee can take these one at a time, rehash all the material about each, and make a continued story without a visible last chapter.

Certainly, the Democratic strategists will have to show a great deal more skill than they have shown during the past ten days if this attempt is not to succeed.

QUESTIONS ON GUIANA

Dr. Jagan in Britain . . . *by Graeme C. Moodie*

Glasgow, Scotland

DR. JAGAN, legislative leader of the People's Progressive Party and until recently Prime Minister of British Guiana, accompanied by L. Burnham, chairman of the P. P. P., have been speaking at meetings throughout the United Kingdom during the past few weeks, in spite of the great difficulty they have had in finding any organization to sponsor them. The Tories could not be expected to be sympathetic. Transport House issued an edict telling local Labor parties to have nothing to do with these men. And, obviously, the Communists would not be the most desirable sponsors, regardless of whether or not the P. P. P. is a Communist "front." Incidentally, I do not know whether the Communists offered any assistance.

Dr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham were in Glasgow on their speaking tour on November 10 and 11. They held a large number of meetings, including two at the university, finishing their visit with a public meeting attended by some two thousand people. I attended two of the smaller gatherings and in addition talked with both men on a more informal occasion, in typically British fashion, over a cup of tea.

It is impossible not to be impressed by them as men. Despite their youth—Jagan is thirty-five and Burnham only twenty-nine—they strike one at once with their poise and their charm. Later one is equally impressed by their intelligence and ability. Jagan has probably the better public manner, in that more of his warmth and personality gets over to a crowd, while Burnham strikes one as having the clearer and more powerful intellect. This personal difference may reflect the fact that Jagan is of Indian and Burnham of African stock, but I prefer to ascribe it to the influence of their education—Jagan having been trained as a dentist in the United States, and Burnham having obtained his law degree at Oxford, England. Neither of them, however, has the hard-faced, humorless, tense quality so often associated with agitators and subversives.

Are they Communists, arsonists, totalitarians, and all the other things they have been called by the Europeans in Guiana and London? I do not know. All I know is that if what they said is true, Oliver Lyttelton has still a great deal of explaining to do. They gave the impression of being sincere and honest, and in any case what they said raised questions which need to be answered.

HERE ARE some of the main points they made in their defense. First, they pointed out what should be news to no one—that British Guiana has long been run largely by, and in the interests of, the three companies in control of the sugar industry, upon which, along with rice farming, the bulk of the people depend. (As yet only a start has been made toward developing the abundant mineral resources of the colony.) Then they told us the familiar story of poverty, land hunger—the result, there, of the lack of proper drainage and irrigation rather

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than a physical shortage of territory—unemployment, inadequate education, and so on. The P. P. P. obtained its 51 per cent of the votes by promising to deal with these problems. It was turned out as it tried to implement its promises.

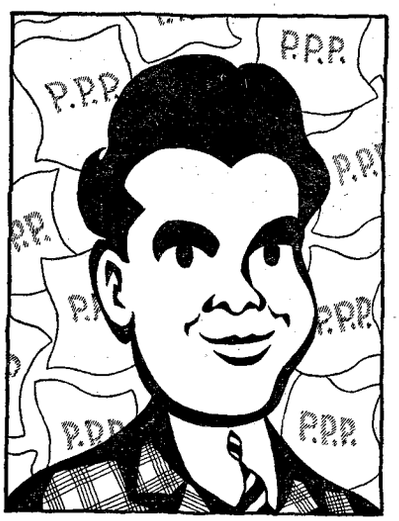
The measures it proposed were not Socialist, let alone Communist, in essence. Its planned labor legislation was derived directly from the Wagner act. Under the system to be set up inquiries and polls could be held in any industry to decide upon the union to be officially recognized. The inquiries and polls were to be conducted by a British official. What is more, a new union challenging the position of an established bargaining agent would have to get 65 per cent of the workers' votes before it could be recognized. It was under these conditions that the P. P. P.-supported union, the Guiana Industrial Workers' Union, hoped to replace the existing Man-Power Citizens' Association as the official organization in sugar and elsewhere.

The latter union is at present affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the attack on it seems to be the main cause of British Labor's opposition to the P. P. P. However, Jagan and Burnham claim that the Man-Power Association has now become, in effect, a company union and has lost the support of the workers. They point out that some of its officials were defeated in the elections for the Legislative Council in constituencies containing up to 80 per cent sugar workers by officials of the "breakaway" Industrial Workers' Union.

In education they proposed to take over the schools, now owned and controlled by the churches although largely financed by the government, and to try to alter the content of the instruction, placing greater emphasis on practical subjects and in purely scholastic studies teaching more about Guiana and less about Britain. Teachers could thus obtain promotion without being obliged, as at present, to subscribe to the faith of the particular Christian denomination running the school. But religious instruction of any variety would be available to children who desired it. This measure, as described, hardly merits the epithet Communist.

They were studying the land question; no detailed proposals seem to have been made, and nationalization was not immediately contemplated.

In addition, they proposed to repeal an order giving the governor power to censor books and publications and to ban any that appeared "undesirable"—a category which has included, they say,



Dr. Cheddi Jagan

issues of the *New Statesman and Nation*. They had raised a ban on the admission to Guiana of West Indians branded as Communists in other British colonies. The pressure of time and business had prevented them from making any other important proposals. The opposition of the upper chamber, with delaying powers, had kept any of their bills from being passed before the constitution was suspended.

Jagan and Burnham were at pains to emphasize that they were advocating nothing not already realized in some or all of the Western democracies. If this is true, the charges of communism and dictatorship leveled at the P. P. P. leaders smack at best of hysteria and at worst of naked reaction—unless, that is, it can be established that these men were planning to undermine the democratic institutions through which they had obtained office. On several occasions Jagan and Burnham stated most vigorously that at no time were they warned by the governor to mend their ways or face the consequences. The ministers were never requested to improve their administrative efficiency or to make up the arrears of work since referred to as justifying their removal.

The White Paper asserts that a plot was uncovered to use arson to further the P. P. P.'s purposes. Needless to say, Jagan and Burnham deny the existence of such a plot. It is laughable, they say, to maintain that the "reliable police agents" who are now alleged to be prevented by intimidation from giving evidence in court about the plot could not be protected. And they point out that Lyttelton does not seem to have made up his mind whether the plot was for October 2 or 7—an important item in that the order-in-council suspending the constitution was presented to the Queen for signature on October 4. One is left wondering what the P. P. P. was expected to gain by resorting to arson, and how much faith to place in the accusations of unknown police agents who have testified in secret and not on oath.

SO FAR, insufficient evidence has been produced by the government to justify suspension of the constitution as against making use of the governor's reserve powers. But this is not the only debatable point. It is not yet absolutely clear that there was justification for any special action against the P. P. P. The British government must provide more information on the following questions: (1) What precisely was the evidence showing that the P. P. P. was about to resort to arson and violence? (2) Were there any actions of the P. P. P., other than this alleged plot and the measures mentioned above, that clearly demonstrate its anti-democratic—and not simply its anti-planter—intentions? (3) How far is the Colonial Office prepared, now or at any time, in British Guiana or any other colony, to assist in carrying through reforms desired by the local populations but strongly opposed by vested European interests? In short, was it a concern for democracy and good government or pressure from the planters that motivated the government.

In turn the P. P. P. must provide more information on these questions: (1) How did it decide which bills should have legislative priority? Why, for example, was a measure dealing with drainage and irrigation not introduced while such relatively contentious measures as those on unions, education, and undesirable literature were? (2) Why is it that the other Caribbean labor movements have not supported the P. P. P.?

Answers to none of these questions will be forthcoming unless the questions themselves are given a public airing.

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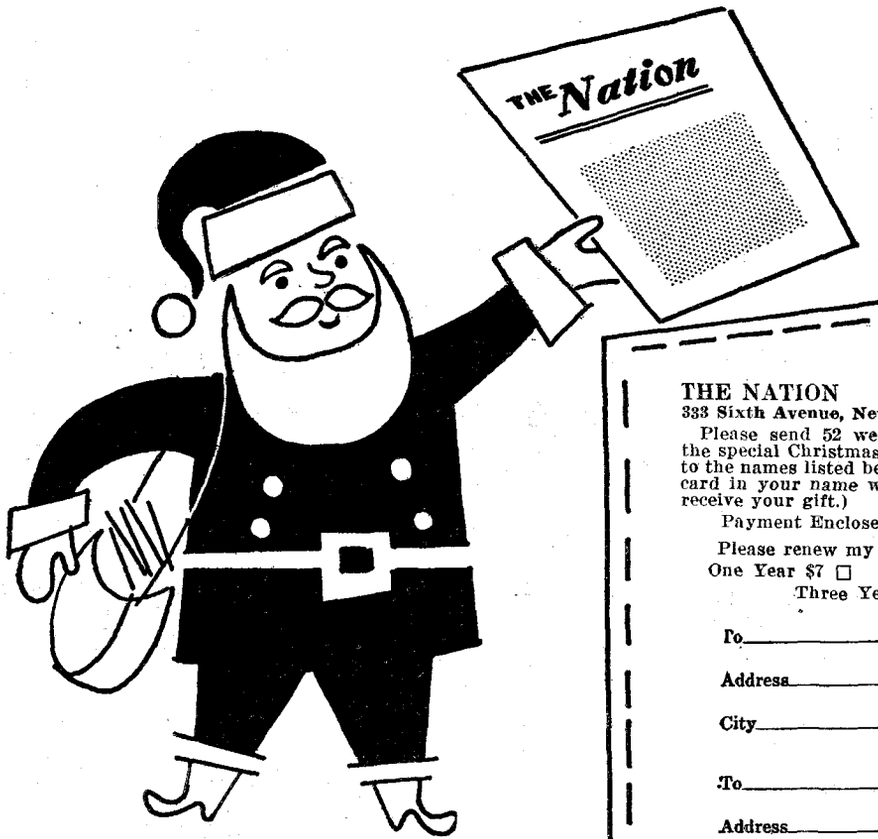

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BOOKS

Life History of an Army

A STILLNESS AT APPOMATTOX. By Bruce Catton. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By David Donald

ON MARCH 10, 1864, the Army of the Potomac got its first look at Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant. The new commander of all the armies of the United States—twenty-one corps, in eighteen military departments, totaling 533,000 soldiers—did not make a favorable impression. "He was slouchy, round-shouldered, a red bristly beard cropped short on his weathered face, with a look about the eyes of a man who had come way up from very far down; his one visible talent seemingly the ability to ride any horse anywhere under any conditions." The hard-bitten veterans in the Army of the Potomac had seen generals come and go, and they reserved judgment. Time alone "would tell whether this new general's first name was really Ulysses or Useless."

The "quiet stolidity" of the new commander was in keeping with the changed character of the Civil War, now "just finishing its third year, the end . . . nowhere in sight," with what lay ahead "almost certain to be worse than what had gone before." It had commenced "with waving unstained flags and dreams of a picture-book fight which would concern no one but soldiers, who would die picturesquely and without bloodshed amid dress-parade firing lines." But after three years, after Bull Run and the Peninsula, after Antietam and Fredericksburg, after Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, "glory was out of date, a gauzy wisp of rose-colored filament trailing from a lost world. Victory could no longer be imagined as a bright abstraction, lying like the sunrise at the end of a shining road. It was an ugly juggernaut that would crush and smash many values and many lives into the everlasting mud, and it was the only thing that counted nowadays."

Bruce Catton's "A Stillness at Appomattox" is the story of the final grim twelve months of the war in the East, "the year of the Wilderness and the Bloody Angle, of Cold Harbor and the Crater; the year that killed John Sedgwick and saw Abraham Lincoln under fire; the terrible year when war became total; the year of U. S. Grant." In May, Grant's direct advance against Lee led to the battle of the Wilderness, "the last place on earth for armies to fight," where "nobody could see anything" and men "fired by ear-sight." Deterred but not daunted, Grant began moving "in a series of wide zigzags." "Wanting to go due south, the army was forever going southeast in order to find a good place to cross a river," carrying on meanwhile "a confused, meaningless series of little fights" with the Confederates. Checked again at Spotsylvania, the Union command ordered an attack on the Bloody Angle, the war's "darkest cockpit." At Cold Harbor there was another assault; this was "coffin corner," and the only result was "more names for the casualty lists, testifying to nothing except that war was a madman's business."

Then Grant changed his plans and moved south of the James River, and like "the aimless groping of frozen men stumbling down to the last dead end of a cold trail," the army settled into trenches before Petersburg. "Since May 4 everything that had happened had been part of one continuous battle, a battle three months long, with advance and retreat and triumph and disaster all taking place together, so that words like victory and defeat had lost their meaning." For nine months the troops before Petersburg played an inglorious role. While Sheridan was "peeling" the Shenandoah Valley and Sherman was piercing the heart of the Confederacy, the Army of the Potomac "won no victories and earned no applause; its job was just to hang on and fight and make final victory possible." Then in March, 1865, the army began to move "with a rush and a roar toward the final smashup." It had the Confederates on the run, and Grant summed up its history in a telegram: "This army has now won a most decisive victory and followed the enemy. That is all that it ever wanted to make it as good an army as ever fought a battle."

The tragedy was that during the twelve months victory had been within grasp a half-dozen times. In the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, before Petersburg, in the Crater catastrophe, the end of the war had been "within whispering distance." But the absence of planning, insufficient reconnaissance, and faulty communications had turned victory into defeat. Mr. Catton is convinced that the Army of the Potomac owed little of its final success to the Administration in Washington. The Secretary of War was suspicious and unpredictable; Halleck, "always apathetic." In 1864 the War Department adopted "an almost foolproof system for getting the wrong men into uniform," and the new recruits "often included hopeless cripples, lunatics, and men far along in incurable disease." Though "the government in its wisdom might be doing everything possible to show the men that patriotism was for fools, in the end the veterans simply refused to believe it," and they stayed on to see the job through.

NOR DID the generals in the field contribute much to the ultimate victory, for Mr. Catton agrees with an angry soldier that the Army of the Potomac made gains "by brute force and not by generalship." The federal commanders "had been brought up wrong," for they had learned the tactics of close-order fighting in the open country. The rifle and the trench had made open-field fighting "as dead as Hannibal," but the generals seemed not to get the idea. For most of them—choleric Meade, bumbling Burnside, tardy Warren, "Baldy" Smith, and their like—Mr. Catton has small praise. Only Sheridan, with his "driving flaming will to victory that would stop for no obstacles and accept no excuses," wins Mr. Catton's enthusiastic approval, and even here, one suspects, he is judg-

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DAVID DONALD, associate professor of history at Columbia University, now on leave, is lecturing in American history at the University College of North Wales. He is general editor and author of the text of "Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War, 1861-1865."

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ing a dramatic personality rather than actual military ability.

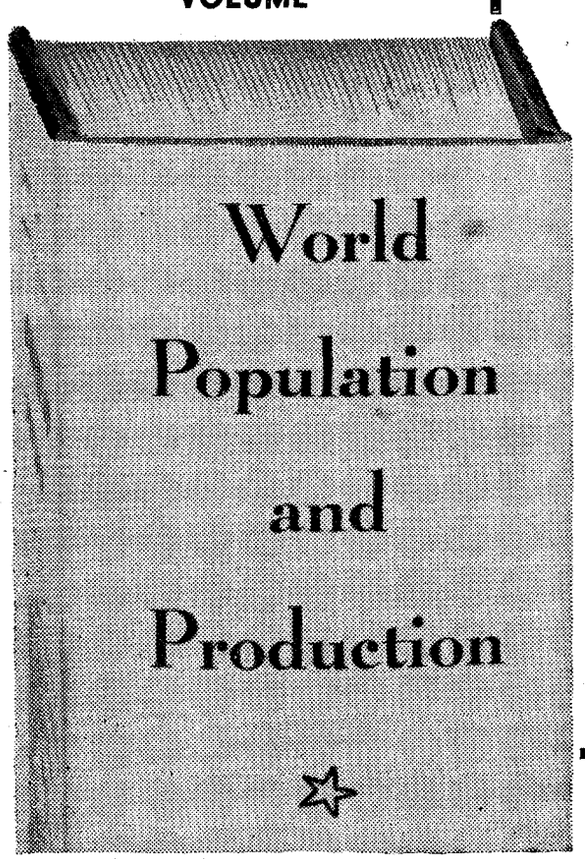
Grant is the central figure in Mr. Catton's story, and like many a previous student of the Civil War he finds the General a curiously ambiguous character. Grant's grim determination he admires, and he is convinced that his strategic objective was the only correct one. "From the moment he headed down to the Rapidan fords . . . he had just one idea in mind: to destroy Lee's army." "In the end," Mr. Catton concludes, "everything depended on the General." At the same time, though, "A Stillness at Appomattox" offers a damning indictment of Grant's tactics, for at Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and the Crater it was all too clear that the commander shared his subordinates' belief that the "way to beat the enemy was to pile into him head on, and if a great many men were killed that way it could not be helped because to get killed was the soldier's hard fate and it would never be any other way."

Neither the politician nor the general is Mr. Catton's hero. Where neither politics nor strategy could bring success, he concludes, "the only value that seemed to amount to anything any more was the simple courage of the enlisted man." "A Stillness at Appomattox" is a powerful tribute to the American volunteer soldier, "the old-timer—rusty in a worn uniform, wearing his forage cap with its broken visor tugged down over his eyes, tolerant of high authority but not especially respectful toward it (one fussy brigadier was greeted on all sides as 'Old Bowels'), taking eventual triumph for granted, but fully aware that he himself was the man who was going to pay for it."

THIS SAME THEME has been dominant in Mr. Catton's two previous books, "Mr. Lincoln's Army" and "Glory Road," which traced the Army of the Potomac from its 1861 beginnings through the terrible climax of Gettysburg. "A Stillness at Appomattox" completes the trilogy and makes it clear that Mr. Catton has produced what is unquestionably the best-written military history of the Civil War. The events here described have of course been related by other historians, but never before with such literary skill and such profound sympathy. Mr. Catton's books are in a class by themselves. He has deliberately avoided writing a history and critique of Union strategy, of the sort that Kenneth P. Williams is producing, for he feels that neat battle maps and orderly official reports do not reveal the war which the soldiers were actually fighting: "reports coming in out of a blinding fog, orders going forward into the fog, nothing that was ordered having any relation to reality, the men who wrote the orders never once seeing the place where the orders were to be executed or the people who were to execute them." Though Mr. Catton's books abound in skilful word portraits as graphic as the photographs of Matthew B. Brady, he has not attempted to write a study of commanders, such as Douglas Southall Freeman so magisterially provided for the Confederacy. And unlike J. G. Randall, he has not made a detailed analysis of the political aspects of the war, and some of his incidental pronouncements on Northern war-time politics will not bear close scrutiny.

What Mr. Catton has done is to write

IN ONE ENCYCLOPEDIC VOLUME



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New York in Pictures: 1614-1953

THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL PORTRAIT OF NEW YORK. By John A. Kouwenhoven. Doubleday and Company. $21.

By Evans Clark

THIS truly fabulous volume represents a monumental effort by a skilled antiquary who loves New York to paint a composite portrait of the city as it is now and has been down the years since 1614. His materials are some 900 illustrations with a running comment at the top of each page and more detailed captions for each picture. Like all painters, and unlike most authors of books of this kind, Mr. Kouwenhoven realizes that a portrait is not a picture of the subject itself but of what it looks like to the artist. The author, by the way, is professor of English at Barnard College, Columbia University, which adds more point to the book's sponsorship by the university than does the fact that Columbia will be exactly 200 years old next year and that New York is only, very roughly, 300 years old now.

The personal point of view affects the book in two ways. The illustrations not only represent the author's feeling about the city; he has also consciously chosen them to show how others have felt about New York and what their special interests in it have been. For example, the earliest pictures reveal no concern for the people of the city or its intimate daily life—they are panoramas, maps, distant views. "New York was more than a century old before any of its pictures showed it as it might be to someone walking up its streets." An indication of Mr. Kouwenhoven's own concern is the number of pictures which show the seamy side of city life—notably the eloquent photographs by Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine.

The march of illustrations down the years also, of course, dramatizes the striking changes in the techniques of pictorial reproduction—pen-and-ink drawings, water colors, engravings, prints, daguerreotypes, photographs; and in the treatment of subjects—realistic, documentary, sentimental, "artistic." The social conscience of the early twentieth century, for example, produced "the clarity and precision of 'straight photography,'" especially in dealing with the squalor of the slums.

This personal quality adds a great deal to the interest and pleasure of the reader and, surprisingly, does not seem to detract from the value of the book as a great historical document. The essential features of the city's development are all there: its physical expansion from the Battery north, south, and east, the growing height and bulk of its buildings, the mechanization and increasing coagulation of its transportation; the reader sees them all, even though one may have reservations about the emphasis here or there. Why, for example, should the author give only sixty-four pages to the forty-three years of greatest change, 1910-53, while eighty are lavished on the twenty years of 1890-1910, especially since so many readers are interested in the record of what they themselves have seen? Just as a book it has great distinction. The binding, type, lay-out, and pictorial reproductions make it a real joy to leaf through—and return to again and again.

New Books in Brief

Soviet and Comintern

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-23. By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. $6.

In the record of major historical projects Mr. Carr's one-man study of the Bolshevik revolution is surely one of the most distinguished and awe-inspiring. This particular 600-page book is merely the third part of the initial instalment of a history of Soviet Russia, dealing with the first six years of Bolshevism. Mr. Carr reveals that he is already at work on the first volume of the next series, which will presumably carry him to around 1929. The current volume deals primarily with Soviet foreign affairs in their crucial formative years. Mr. Carr's thesis is that up to the end of 1920 the Russian leaders saw their revolution as "a first and compara-

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tively minor chapter in a story of world revolution." For this reason the prestige and authority of the Comintern overtopped those of the Soviet government, whose main function was to serve the world revolutionary cause. But by the time the fourth Comintern congress was convoked in the late days of 1922, it had become apparent that the Soviet regime had survived all its early trials, while the revolutionary attempts in every other land—and especially in Germany—had failed. Thus the "balance of obligation" was reversed, the Soviet government began to dominate the Comintern, and each foreign Communist party now set as its main goal not revolution in its own country but the furtherance of Soviet interests. Mr. Carr indicates that this development was more or less inevitable and that Lenin alone probably understood its long-range implications—and he was already dying. Stalin, who had a minor role in the development of this new trend, merely fell heir to it. In developing this thesis, Mr. Carr employs documentation that is often unfamiliar to non-Russian readers and at all times prodigiously rich. In fact, when Mr. Carr looks at the same event from the non-Russian angle, his material suffers by comparison. But, all in all, this is a brilliant job of historical research and writing that illuminates some of Moscow's current problems and attitudes.

The Great Tycoons

THE AGE OF THE MOGULS. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Doubleday. $5.

This is the first volume of "The Mainstream of America" series, edited by Lewis Gannett, which promises us "a new approach to American history." But there is nothing very new in Stewart Holbrook's account of the great business tycoons from Vanderbilt to William Randolph Hearst. Once again we have the stories of the looting of the Erie and the building of the Rockefeller empire, the familiar anecdotes of Jim Fisk's women and J. P. Morgan's nose. Clearly Holbrook has depended very largely on secondary sources; his lively but carelessly written book is pretty much a rehash of Myers, Tarbell, Josephson, *et al.* Where he differs from the muckrakers is in the moral—or rather amoral—gloss that he applies, which approximates to that developed by the rising school of entrepreneurial historians who tend to excuse the unethical means of the "robber barons" on the ground that they usually produced desirable economic ends. "I happen to believe," he says in his foreword, "that no matter how these men accumulated their fortunes, their total activities were of the greatest influence in bringing the United States into its present incomparable position in the world of business and industry."

Space Travel

CONQUEST OF THE MOON. By Wernher von Braun, Fred L. Whipple, and Willy Ley. Edited by Cornelius Ryan. Viking. $4.50.

THE MARS PROJECT. By Wernher von Braun. Illinois. $3.95.

While many of us are inclined to pooh-pooh, some very competent people are really serious about going to the moon and beyond. The first of these books, based on a *Collier's* series, is intended for the layman interested in a certain amount of technical information; the second is a bleakly austere set of calculations setting forth in considerable detail the engineering specifications for a trip to Mars. You can't read the one without sensing the sort of dedication to a problem which often solves it. You can't look through the other without being impressed by the fact that so obviously competent a specialist as the designer of the German V-II has been working out the figures on such details as the skin temperature of the rocket at crucial moments.

Both the moon and the Mars project presuppose multi-stage rockets and a take-off platform revolving as a satellite some thousand miles from the earth. Nobody supposes that the start can be made tomorrow, but von Braun insists that there are no problems whose solution is not within sight, and he says that a trip to the moon wouldn't cost more than a medium-sized war. With the question whether or not this would be the best way to spend what we shall save if we are fortunate enough to avoid war he is not concerned.

Italian Orphan

BITTER DESTINY. By Renato Cannavale. Wyn. $3.

A below-average specimen of the contemporary Italian novel; energetic and earthy with a vitality that bounces the reader along the surface of life. "Bitter Destiny" carries an orphan boy through a childhood of squalor and degradation, and the prostitution of his talents as ghost writer for a prominent Fascist, to a tragic and unregretted end.

Leland Olds will review "Revolt of the Atom," by Gordon Dean, in next week's issue.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

"SABRINA FAIR," by Samuel Taylor (National Theater), is the theater equivalent of what the book trade refers to as summer fiction. It is less than fluff. In fact, it is almost impossible to recount its plot or even to remember it.

Sabrina, daughter of Fairchild, chauffeur extraordinary and literary to a family of Long Island millionaires, has been sent to Paris to complete her education. On her return she is full of "ideas" (I never found out what they were except that she discovered that boar hunting in Belgium, while exciting, was not the ultimate aim in life) and is considering marriage to a good-looking Frenchman with an impressive bank account. The younger of the millionaire's sons proposes marriage to Sabrina; the would-be groom's family is upset by the thought of such a mésalliance. The elder son tells Sabrina that considerations of money shouldn't stand in her way. But it turns out that there is no problem at all, since Sabrina's chauffeur-father is himself a millionaire. So Sabrina marries the more successful of the Long Island boys.

The snobbishness of this story—recalling a little the old-time (1910) plays in which the nice American hero defies everybody to marry a girl with some Indian blood only to find out before the final curtain that she is the foundling daughter of a thoroughly white Senator—this snobbishness is quite inoffensive because it is to be taken no more seriously than any other aspect of "Sabrina Fair." The play is the occasion for a few bright quips, an amusing characterization of the distracted Long Island pater familias charmingly acted by John Cromwell, and is smoothly written.

The total effect of the play on me was tepid. It looked and felt like agreeably scented soap. Yet the play is a smash. You may protest that this should be no concern of mine since box-office success or failure has nothing to do with criticism. This is not altogether true. A play's success tells us not only about some operative quality within it but also something about its audience—the theater's crucial element. Our audiences today have a greater appetite for sugar than at any time since 1917.

Besides this, the play has a pretty company of actors, all of whom do their jobs with handsome competence. The counterpart in a novel of a play like "Sabrina Fair" would be nothing any serious critic would undertake to notice. But this is irrelevant, since we do not go to the theater to read a script but to see a play, which is not at all a purely literary affair. The presence of the stage and all that it holds—actors and their clothes, settings and their lights, etc.—make the theater what it is.

Is the acting of "Sabrina Fair," then, so good? It is good in so far as it gives pleasant substance to the faint tracery of the text. We like Margaret Sullavan—and we are rightly willing to overlook the fact that she is not so young as the plot suggests—because she has a fragrant personality, just as Russell Collins, who plays her father, has a certain sweet humility, Cathleen Nesbitt an elegance, and so on.

None of this is important acting even to the actors themselves, virtually all of whom are capable of more interesting and challenging tasks. There is, however, a tendency nowadays to speak rapturously of almost all acting that is technically facile and personally attractive, a tendency partly encouraged by reviewers and others as an excuse for their gushing over what they know to be exceedingly meager material. Now it is possible and proper for a play to be admired to a high degree because of very fine acting. I shall never forget Sidney Howard's "They Knew What They Wanted" because of Pauline Lord, or "The Glass Menagerie" because of Laurette Taylor. Great performances give a play a quality and stature in the theater which creatively exceed every other contribution, although the seed of such creation is always somewhere in the text or scenario of the play itself.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

ONE of the anomalies of modern architecture in America is its split reception in institutions of higher learning. Generally speaking, the local faculty in art or architecture is sympathetic to its aims and accomplishments, while the administration is opposed to it, often directly controverting the advice of those whose very position on the faculty would imply a greater competence in such matters than the average administrator could rightly claim. The insistence that modern architecture has no place on the college campus has been particularly strong in New England. Among institutions with the resources to initiate and exemplify architectural progress, Yale University has been, I believe, the least venturesome. Despite the gradual growth of an excellent school of architecture over the past twenty-five years, Yale has consistently muffed great opportunities to pioneer in the design of dormitories, graduate centers, auditoriums, gymnasium, library, theater, and art gallery.

Now the log-jam has been broken. Yale's new art center, opened on November 6, indicates a willingness on the part of the administration to work harmoniously with its own school of architecture and to respect the arrangements desired by the director and staff of the gallery. It also implies that there is no necessary contradiction even when a modern building is to be grafted onto one that came out of picture-book souvenirs of the wonders of Viterbo. By an extraordinary exercise of tact the new façade on Chapel Street is set back where it joins the older one, and a shallow entrance court is maneuvered before the street alignment is continued. Inside, the building may be described as loft construction, with movable partition walls and ceilings like waffles. The utmost flexibility of interior space, color, and artificial lighting is thereby achieved. The several floors provide a fine setting for Yale's important and fast-growing art collections, for drafting rooms, design workshops, and small classrooms. They are connected by a remarkable staircase rather like a great silo with the flights climbing in a series of triangles inside its concrete circumference. The effect is dramatic and powerful.

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THE BIG retrospective of Fernand Léger which opened last April in Chicago and later journeyed to San Francisco is now at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. As there have been six exhibitions of Léger's work in New York during the past three years and several comments on Léger in this column, I shall merely point out that one can take stock of past opinion and gain a detailed idea of Léger's development not only from the pictures themselves but from Katherine Kuh's excellent catalogue. Miss Kuh makes an interesting case out of the apparent effect of several extended visits to America on Léger's art —how America's restlessness upset Léger's Gallic restraint. I think it also upset, in the 30's and 40's, his sense of scale; or something else did: The Builders (1950) will not be able to erect such a city as Léger designed in 1919. The grandeur is gone. Léger is quick to attack good taste, and his blunt and virile art, like Courbet's, often gets along very well without it. But when the intention loses scale and a decorative and fussy interlace begins to take over, then coarseness leads not to power but to boredom. The most interesting of the later pictures, Three Musicians, was completed in 1944, but Léger laid it out in 1925. I should certainly agree with the artist that Woman in Blue, an all but abstract picture of 1912, is one of his finest canvases. It could hang with the best Braques and Picassos of the same wonderful year of painting. Compared to it, The Builders marks a sad decline of sensibility. If Léger has not quite gone full turn from his refusal to reproduce a beautiful thing—but to make the painting itself a beautiful thing—he has come awfully close to it.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Toscanini recordings of Beethoven's Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Symphonies that were issued last spring in the limited edition have now been issued to the general public, apparently after having been reprocessed from the original tapes. And as I took my review copies out of the envelopes I could see one thing I was going to hear. Among the features Victor claims for its latest records is "improved quiet surface"; but what they need is rather a surface without the fine scratches inflicted in manufacture or the coarser ones from the grinding of particles of grit in the envelopes—scratches which the quiet vinylite surface makes more disturbing than the steady hiss of the old shellac record. In the five years of LP the companies, including Victor, haven't eliminated this annoyance; and the complicated patterns of scratches on these Toscanini records were something that hit the eye even before the ear began to hear the counterpoint of sharp crackling, sputtering, and clicking that overlay the musical sound much of the time.

As for recording, the Eighth, which was reproduced atrociously last spring, and the Seventh, which was reproduced imperfectly, now come off the records with sound that is spacious, solid resonant, and luminous. That sound also comes off the second side of the record of the Sixth; but the sound from the first side, excellent last spring, now is curiously reduced in amplitude and brilliance. The first movement of the Second still lacks luster, but the later movements are now good, though with exaggerated echoing resonance. The Fifth still requires the increased bass provided by the 800-cycle turnover for adequate solidity; and even then, although the sound is full and clear, the plucked bass-notes at the beginning of the second movement still are barely audible. The Fourth, which was muffled last spring, now has an excess of treble requiring a 20-db roll-off and an insufficiency of bass requiring an 800-cycle turnover, and exaggerated echoing resonance.

Thus the present practice of recording on tape and processing stampers from the tape has made it possible to go back to the original tape and produce a new stamper that gives us a good Beethoven Seventh or Eighth in place of the poor one of last spring. But it also made it possible to produce the poor one of last spring from an evidently excellent tape. And additional illustration of this is provided by the Toscanini recordings of the two "pops" programs he broadcast in the summer of 1952.

The sound of the Dance of the Hours from "La Gioconda"—astoundingly beautiful and natural in its richness, its clarity, cleanness, and distinctness in quiet, its amplitude, spaciousness, and solidity (except when the volume is cut down near the end)—is evidently a faithful transference of the sound on the original tape, which presumably was the same in the other performances. And we do get the same sound from the first part of the "Mignon" Overture; but in the second part, as in the "Carmen" Suite, the sound has been made shallow and given a coarse, noisy brilliance by reduction of bass, boosting of treble, and the addition of artificial resonance. It is questionable whether the artificial resonance should have been added even to the flat, unresonant sound of the "Otello" recording, since it coarsened the voices; but surely it should not have

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been added to sound with sufficient natural resonance, like that of the "Mignon" and "Carmen" recordings. And surely, when the sound is perfectly balanced with beautiful result, there should be no monkeying with treble and bass that destroys the balance and the beauty, as in the "Mignon," the "Carmen," the "Zampa" Overture, and to a lesser degree the "Hänsel und Gretel" Overture.

But what of Toscanini, who must approve a recording before it may be issued? Is it possible that he could hear the "Gioconda" and approve the "Carmen," hear the beginning of the "Mignon" and approve the end? The way to answer that is to ask a few more questions. Is it possible that Toscanini approved a Beethoven Fifth with inaudible bass-notes in the second movement; a "Pines of Rome" with breaks in sustained notes of the solo oboe and clarinet in the Janiculum section and a repeated cutting down of the final crescendo as he built it up (this being apparently what Victor means by the "ideal dynamic range suitable for home listening" of its latest records); a Beethoven Septet with a measure's pause inserted after the exposition in the first movement (tape making such insertions possible)? It seems to me that to ask those questions is to answer them: I cannot conceive of Toscanini's hearing such things and accepting them; and so I can only conclude that he never heard them. In pre-tape days what was recorded on the wax or lacquer couldn't be changed; and Toscanini could be certain that what he approved was what would be issued. Today what is recorded on the tape can be changed for better or worse in the transfer to the stamper, and can continue to be changed as long as the tape continues in existence. The defective Beethoven Eighth of last spring and excellent one of this fall, the superb "Gioconda" and defective "Carmen" are evidence that beautiful Toscanini recordings on the tapes are sometimes changed for the worse; the interpolated pause in the Beethoven Septet and the broken notes in the "Pines of Rome" are evidence that changes and substitutions sometimes continue to be made in what Toscanini has heard and approved. And the arrogance and presumption are not justified by their results.

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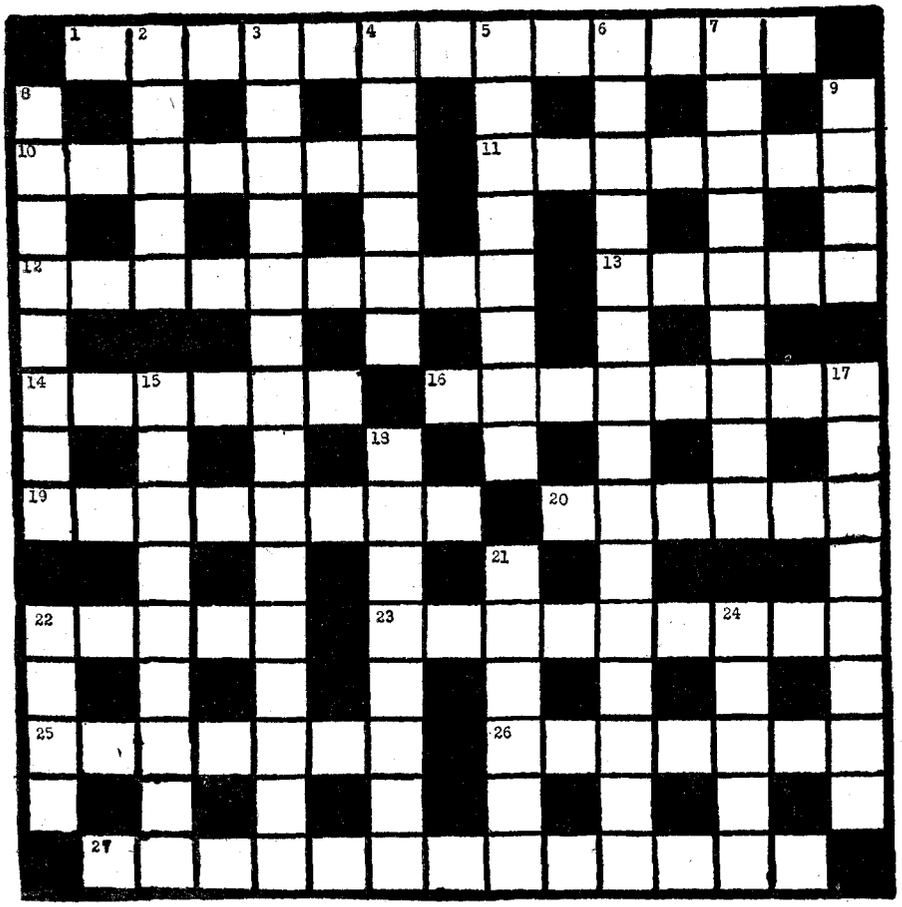
Crossword Puzzle No. 543

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Crested dinnerware? (5, 8)
10 A gaffer, or cramp iron. (7)
11 Some school departments and board meetings are. (7)
12 Tellers. (9)
13 Not necessarily rubber. (5)
14 Light study, concerned with the way you look. (6)
16 Is it plagiarism if you do? (8)
19 Misusers of opinions. (8)
20 Vinegary, almost austere. (6)
22 You'll be sticking your neck out if you do. (5)
23 Deviations of the otherwise sane vicar. (9)
25 How to get rid of that squeak? (7)
26 First flower of spring? (7)
27 Run too often, between complementary colors. (7, 6)

DOWN

2 Comparatively like a June day? (5)
3 Perpetually a current issue with D. C. (15)
4 Solid alcohol sounds pure. (6)
5 Invalidating, since Rio reformed. (8)
6 and 8. Does the speaker permanently engrave that which is supposed to lead to gold? (2, 6, 7, 8)
7 Still congenial, even though one might find the paper torn. (2, 7)
9 German river poet? (4)
15 Kaolin, for example. (5, 4)
17 Did Mossedegh try to out of Iran? (8)
18 Sort of double-bass that goes below B, as a Shakespearean character. (8)
21 Force. (6)
22 Cut in farm production, perhaps. (4)
24 A noble figure? (5)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 542

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